

The McGill Daily

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we're scary, not scared since 1911

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New Paper Blackens Prospects for Media Diversity

BLACK STARTS NATIONAL POST, TORSTAR GOES FOR TORONTO SUN

BY JAIMIE KIRZNER-ROBERTS

Conrad Black is a man on a mission.

His Hollinger Corporation, after a year-long spree of buyouts and takeovers, now owns over half of Canada's daily newspapers. His media empire spans the world, including major dailies such as Britain's *Daily Telegraph*, the *Chicago Sun-Times*, the *Jerusalem Post* and others. His companies control an estimated 59 of Canada's 105 dailies and serve over 40 percent of the country's newspaper readers. Now he wants the acclaim of a national newspaper.

Last Tuesday, Black launched his new national daily, the *National Post*, amidst both fanfare and criticism. Critics worry about his conservative stronghold on the news industry in Canada and about the lack of diverse viewpoints having a chance to be debated publicly. Proponents cheer the emergence of competition in the media, saying that it will increase the quality of news.

Peter Scowen, Toronto editor for the *Post*, says that the emergence of the paper will undoubtedly have a positive effect on the news business. The fact that there are two national papers, he says, "is good, positive for journalists and jobs. It will be good for giving Canadians different choices and voices, different perspectives, it creates competition. Both papers will strive to be the best papers they can be. Even if I wasn't working here, I'd feel the same way. Now I'd have one more paper to choose from each day."

Few would disagree with Scowen's assertion that competi-

tion is good for the news industry, but it is the lack of competition that marks Black's dynasty. Both major papers in Vancouver, for example, are run by Black, as are the major papers in most Canadian cities except Toronto. It is the extent to which Black controls the nature of public debate in the country and the lack of competition this suggests, that is worrisome to critics.

John Urquhart, communications officer for the Council of Canadians, is one of these critics. The introduction of the *Post*, he says, "is not going to improve competition. Its design is to crush competition — how else do you explain it being offered at 10 cents less than the *Globe and Mail*? Black wants to drive the *Globe* out of business. That's the kind of business tactics Conrad Black employs. Black's papers are the only game in town."

Not only that, says Urquhart, but Canadians should also be worried about the increasing conservatism in the news industry as a result of Black's stronghold.

"His (Black's) views dominate the papers. His writers are right wing conservative apologists. The editorials are written through a conservative lens...making fun of homosexuals, praising the free market, calling for less government."

Although up front about the fact that the *Post* will have a right-wing slant, Black promises diversity in editorials.

He is notorious for pulling stunts such as forcing his editorials into all his nation-wide papers and even dismissing editors with whom he disagrees. This happened when he acquired the *Regina Leader Post* and the *Ottawa Citizen*, according to Urquhart. Given this track record, some question the potential for diversity in the *National Post*.

Scowen concedes that in many aspects, Urquhart's criticism of Black's concentration of power in the news industry is fair.

But he adds that, "it's easy to make accusations because of concentration... it's easy to be alarmist. Council of Canadians' criticisms are not unintelligent, but one needs to back up their claims. I haven't seen anything so far to prove that there's been any shutting of mouths because of large scale ownership."

Evidence suggests that the advent of the *National Post* caused Torstar, the company that owns the *Toronto Star*, to bid last week for ownership Sun Media, publishers of the *Toronto Sun*.

Sun Media President Paul Godfrey called this a "unsolicited, hostile opportunistic offer" but



CONRAD BLACK'S MISSION: NATIONAL POST

Report Condemns Shatner Building

\$2.5 MILLION NEEDED TO RENOVATE TO ENSURE

SAFETY AND ACCESSIBILITY

BY JASON CHOW

McGill's Shatner building is a poorly planned inaccessible fire hazard, according to a recent study.

An SSMU commissioned report titled "Future Planning Study: McGill University Student Centre" was released last week, outlining blatant problems and proposed changes.

The study also said that the building has problems with fire safety. Presently, the student union centre does not pass safety codes. The problem is so serious that the university itself was forced into hiring consultants to advise on how to update the building to pass fire codes.

SSMU President Duncan Reid was adamant about the need to address the hazards: "I can't emphasize enough how big of a problem safety is."

The report said it lacked the required number of fire sprinklers and stated that the exit capacity was inadequate.

Reid added that a small fire that caused the evacuation of the building during a 4 Floors party last year pointed out these flaws. He also cited a recent incident in Sweden where a fire at a nightclub caused 60 deaths and said that the Shatner building has the potential for a similar disaster.

"Basically, if we don't make this building a safe place to be, we can't hold the kind of events we are doing," he said.

Karen Pelley, SSMU VP Internal echoed similar sentiments, calling the building "a box with one exit."

The outcome will be decided by Sun Media's stock holders, whose stocks have more than doubled in value since the proposal.

If the bid is accepted, critics warn it could represent still further concentration of media own-

The report also saw accessibility as a major problem. It recommended an elevator to be installed. Currently, there is no elevator, making wheelchair access impossible to the upper floors.

The student centre, built 35 years ago, is also inefficiently using its space. The report said a reconfiguration of the upper floors could allow for 30% more club offices.

Pelley stressed this point, saying that offices are in great demand.

"The biggest complaints from clubs and services is the lack of office space," she said.

With the new student services building being constructed, Reid hopes to have the necessary improvements done by September 1999 so that it could be a functional, up-to-date part of a new complex.

But to do that, SSMU needs to find the money to finance the estimated \$2.5 million that the report calls for. As the society is currently negotiating with the university, Reid hoped that the cost could be split 50-50 with the students paying their half through increased fees.

Reid believed that it was in the university's interest to place money for the upgrade. "By McGill's own admission, there has been no proper maintenance or investment in the Shatner building," he said. He added that for the reputation of the university, it was necessary to have a thriving centre instead of the current dilapidated shack which he saw as "such a disgrace."

Should Torstar succeed in its bid, over three-quarters of Canada's newspapers would be controlled by only three companies: Hollinger Inc., Torstar Corp., and Thomson Inc., publishers of the *Globe and Mail*.

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First Suharto Now Fujimori

The headline of this week's column is not to suggest that Peruvian President Alberto Fujimori's deplorable rule is on par with Suharto's acts of genocide. However, I think it's important to acknowledge that Fujimori is a frequent abuser of human rights, and that his recent trip to Canada is indicative of the Liberals' tendency to embrace autocratic rulers from the Third World in the name of (what else?) trade.

After church groups and human rights organizations lambasted Chrétien this week for welcoming Fujimori without significant recognition of the hu-

man rights abuses occurring under the Peruvian president's rule, Chrétien calmly reassured us all: he understands Fujimori's need to eliminate the insurgent guerrilla group, The Shining Path, and besides there were no civilian "disappearances" in 1997. It seems Chrétien achieves greater heights of brilliance almost

BY
JEFF
WEBBER

In my estimation, Chrétien either has no knowledge of Peruvian history since Fujimori's acquisition of power in 1990; or conversely, Chrétien does fully realize Fujimori's heinous crimes against civilians, and simply sets this lower on his list of priorities. In either case, we must question our Prime Minister's assumptions and conclusions, in his bid to woo Fujimori with potential Canadian investment.

To set Fujimori's four day trade visit to Canada in context, and in an attempt to convey its significance, I think a brief summary of Fujimori's rise to power is in order.

After the chaotic late-1980's rule of Alan García (although with real promise of democratic consolidation during this period) which left Peru incredibly indebted and inundated with political corruption, the populace was ready for anything that opposed the norm. Fujimori's main competitor in the 1990 election was Varga Llosa, a novelist, who advocated harsh fiscal austerity measures that very predictably, and legitimately, scared the poor. With the fragmentation of parties in the moderate centre, and with the far-Left delegitimized through past corruption, Fujimori adeptly filled the centre, at least rhetorically. Contrary to Llosa, he proposed gradual economic adjustment, offering himself as the candidate who would not impose the sort of economic hard-line that Llosa condoned.

What happens after Fujimori is elected, however, is where the story grows dim, where Fujimori demonstrates his autocratic self, and where a twelve-year experiment in civilian democratic governance descends into oblivion.

Ten days after Fujimori's inau-

guration on August 7, 1990, the President called in the tanks, rolled them into the streets of Lima, and announced a draconian package of radical price adjustments: the irrefutable antithesis of the platform on which he had been elected.

As Susan C. Stokes notes in an article appearing in *Comparative Politics*, "The

Price of gasoline rose by 3,140 percent; the price of kerosene, use as cooking fuel by poor consumers, by 6,964 percent. Subsidies for many basic foodstuffs were removed, and their prices soared: bread by 1,567 percent, cooking oil by 639 percent, sugar by 552 percent, and rice by 533 percent. Medicine prices rose on average by 1,385 percent."

The next egregious violation of democracy was not long in coming. Citing growing insurgency of The Shining Path, corruption in the political parties, and difficulties with Congress, Fujimori suspended constitutional rule in April 1992, backed by the armed forces. The President argued that in order for the necessary economic adjustment to come to fruition, it was essential to adopt authoritarian rule. This flew in the face of other Latin American countries who were going through the same economic changes of the early 1990s, except in a democratic fashion.

Fujimori ruled by decree, implementing 120 new laws, mostly economic in nature, but also extending the power of the military.

This suspension of democracy resulted in the general subordination of Peruvian civil institutions to military authority. But, what is significant here, is that Fujimori was forced to resume at least electoral democracy eventually because of international pressure.

Even the United States (historically not the most commendable defender of democracy despite their frequent claims to that end),

led a group of international creditors in suspending financial assistance to Peru, effectively ceasing the country's access to foreign credit. The point being, that although democracy beyond a purely electoral facade still does not exist in Peru, international

pressure had an effect. Thus, Canada can play a positive role by not associating with Peru, unless Peru makes democratic progress.

Chrétien's assertion that the counterinsurgency measures of Fujimori's regime were necessary should be portrayed as precisely what it is: uninformed, or cold-blooded, political propaganda for the facilitation of free trade, no matter what the human cost.

According to Americas Watch (a branch of Human Rights Watch, a human rights awareness organization), many of the counterinsurgency measures that Chrétien "understands", included random arrests, and long jail terms for journalists and academics who disagreed with Fujimori's authoritarian tactics. In addition, many civilians have been detained or have "disappeared" for alleged involvement with terrorist activities. No evidence has been provided for these arrests as the judiciary, since 1992, has come under the almost exclusive control of the executive, meaning Fujimori himself. Under the guise of fighting The Shining Path, Fujimori has waged a violent war against any legitimate dissent. This is not to defend the often murderous acts of The Shining Path against both civilians and government, but it is to suggest that Fujimori has abused his "fight" against terrorists to an infinite degree.

What is Canada's message for democracy to the Third World when our Prime Minister is in close and friendly relations with such a ruler? If we reap profit, apparently it's legitimate for our authoritarian "friends" to suspend legitimate judiciaries; to suspend constitutional democracy; to end congress; to repress labour groups; to end freedom of the press; to cause the "disappearance" of hundreds of "subversives." I say it's not O.K.

And just as we protested with the coming of Suharto, we must send a message to our self-serving politicians, that democracy is important to Canadians at home and abroad. Human rights are not a commodity to be abused for profit.

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This lecture was made possible with the support from the Beatty Memorial Lectures Committee

Gould enthralled audience

RENOWNED SCIENTIST GIVES ENTERTAINING,
THOUGHTFUL LECTURE

BY BEN ERRETT

Stephen Jay Gould, perhaps the world's best known biologist, was running a tight schedule during his visit to McGill last week.

While here, he delivered an address at Convocation, received an honorary doctorate in science from the university and gave a lecture to an audience of the general public that filled Leacock 132 (McGill's largest lecture hall) as well as Room 26, where the lecture was broadcast via closed circuit television.

A clearly tired Dr. Gould received a warm welcome from his audience, which included a number of professors from the Biology Department as well as University administrators. Dr. Gould was introduced by Professor Robert Carroll of the Redpath Museum, who cited Gould's many accomplishments, including "scientist of the year" acclaim by Discover Magazine, a recipient of the National Book Award, the MacArthur Foundation Prize, and his current position as Alexander Agassiz Professor of Zoology at Harvard University. As evidenced by the diverse crowd, Dr. Gould is well known outside the field of evolutionary biology. His numerous books have been translated into a number of languages and he has had the rare honour of being a guest voice on *The Simpsons*.

Dr. Gould's talk, titled "Why We Can't Predict the Future: A Millennial Perspective," discussed the principle of contingency, or chance phenomena, as it relates to human and evolutionary history. He used his research in evolution to illustrate the fact that human-kind cannot come to terms with the fact that the universe is random.

"Most people believe evolution, but will not accept that it is not a process that inherently and predictably will lead to...our eventual origin on the planet. We do not accept that humans are a tiny, late arising twig on an enormous tree

of life, and if we could plant that seed again the chances that we or any other self-conscious creature would arise are very small indeed."

Dr. Gould also lamented the way that sciences cannot make an attempt to predict the future. Disciplines such as evolutionary bi-

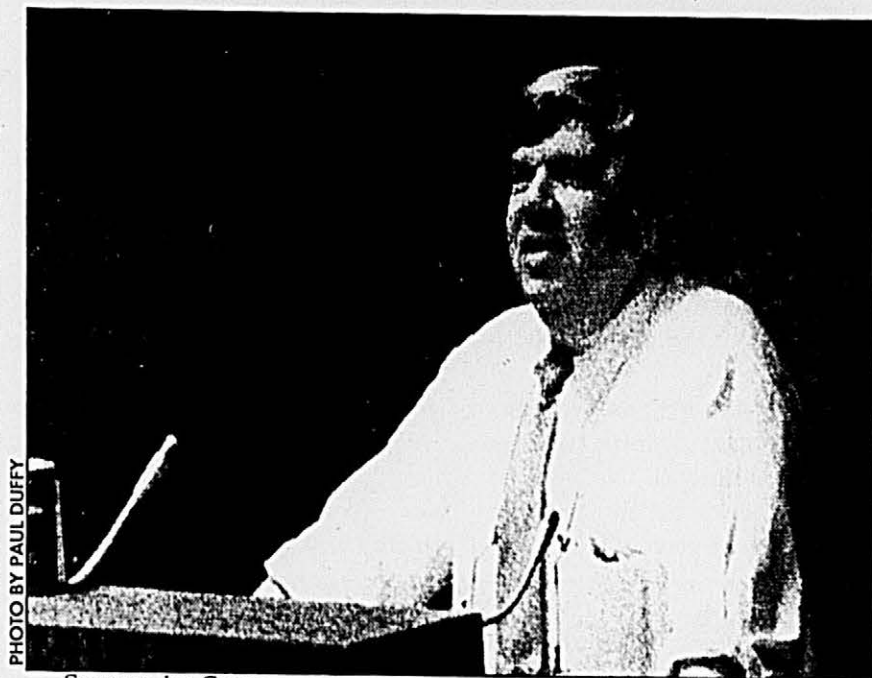
"We do not accept that humans are a tiny, late arising twig on an enormous tree of life."

do not make predictions.

"The problem is that we understand that these fields do not lay claim to predictability, and we see them as the worse for it. We see it as our limit, and that [these sciences] are worse than sciences where we can overcome these limits [like mathematics and physics]. But they're not our limits, or nature's limit, but nature's reality. The enormous complexity with a lot of randomness makes it very difficult to predict nature's ways."

In his trademark style that has earned him his popularity, Dr. Gould filled his talk with different and diverse examples of his themes.

"Even I will let my mind wander, to look for patterns... My favourite example is a study of every field goal shot by the Philadelphia 76er's basketball team for an entire season. Now every basketball fan, including myself, knows perfectly well that there's an important phe-



STEPHEN JAY GOULD, PACKING AN ENTHRALLED AUDIENCE INTO LEACOCK 132

nomena known as 'hot hands.' Every once in a while those shots just start to click...You're in the groove....Well, they took the characteristic field goal percentage of each athlete and defined hot hands as the ability of the player to get a sequence of baskets greater than that by random based on his previously proven ability. And there is no evidence of hot hands. None!"

In closing, Dr. Gould stressed that unpredictability should not be depressing, but rather invigorating. In a traditional Convocation address style ending, Gould wrapped his talk together by telling the audience that "we have total freedom — we make our own paths."

Unfortunately, Dr. Gould's otherwise entertaining and informative talk was interrupted several times as he shooed-off photographers. He explained after the first photo attempt that he has an aversion to flashbulbs going off in his face while he is talking, but he had to stop once more in an embarrassing display to stop another photographer. The present state of Leacock 132, with its missing seats and drab exposed concrete walls combined with the apparent lack of necessary preparations (Dr. Gould wondered out loud why there was no water glass at the podium) did not cast McGill in a positive light.

But despite the interruptions, Dr. Gould still managed to provide the audience with a lecture that impressed devotees and won him new admirers.

Famed Revolutionary Coming to Montréal

LORENZO KOM'BOA ERVIN TO SPEAK
AT CONCORDIA

BY REBECCA ROSENBLUM

Renowned anarchist, community organizer, black liberationist, hijacker, and one-time political prisoner Lorenzo Kom'Boa Ervin is slated to give a talk at Concordia on Thursday.

Lydia Patton, Joint Coordinator of Criminal Injustice, says the idea to bring Ervin to Montreal this year began when "[several of us saw him speak when he was in Montréal (in December 1995) and everyone was impressed. Recently, in Toronto, he was at the Active Resistance Conference and we talked to him about coming to Montréal. He was interested...the details came later."

Ervin has been well known in the U.S., since the 1960s. Rebecca Pages, founder of Criminal Injustice, says his importance as a speaker stems from the fact that, "He was very important in a number of liberation struggles...He was involved in the anti-segregation movement in the U.S., involved in sit-ins at lunch counters and bars."

Melissa Jarrett, organizer of the event, explains that many Canadians will find the talk informative because they have little exposure to "what happened at that time in the states. The Counter Intelligence Programs (COINTELPRO), a CIA operation, targeted and criminalized a lot of black, native [and] Puerto Rican activists, all the people fighting for liberation. [COINTELPRO] ended up infiltrating a lot of groups...The CIZ was effective in [their] attempt to destroy the liberation movement in this era."

It is Ervin's role in fighting these actions that will likely make up the first block of the Thursday night talk. "I think he's going to talk about his life as a revolutionary," says Pates.

Ervin's history is complex. His early liberation struggles were as a part of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (later the Student National Coordinating Committee). He was also briefly affiliated with the Black Panthers, although he left because, as Pates says, as an anarchist "he wasn't partial to the hierarchi-

cal structure. Also, they were black nationalists."

Then, in 1968, Ervin was summoned to testify at the so-called "Black Power Jury" in Hamilton County, Tennessee, "to investigate the SNCC's role in planning disturbances in Chattanooga," according to a press release.



Ervin decided to leave the country after he "heard that the police wanted him dead. He hijacked a plane to Cuba," says Jarrett.

For these actions, Ervin was sentenced to life in prison. "Lorenzo spent 1969 to 1983 in jail," says Ms. Jarrett, "until an international campaign won his release."

Since that time, Ervin has "worked as a community organizer in Chattanooga, with the journal Black Autonomy, and on a micro-radio station known as Black Liberation Radio," says the same press report. He has also been making speeches to student and anarchist groups.

Ervin chooses to speak to students, he says, because "I believe that students are a serious force for social change in any society. They can be revolutionary, but are not inherently so. I am calling on students to leave the universities and return as activists in local communities."

The lecture's organizers also believe that it is important for Montréal students to hear what Mr. Ervin has to say.

"I think there is increasing social unrest in Montréal," says Pages. "One hundred and eight people were arrested on December third at the La Reine Elizabeth [at] an anti-hunger action...another eighty at the conseil de Patrona in March - mainly students protesting against big business and the rise of student debt. There was also the MAI demonstration."

Nicolas Lefebvre, who is organizing Mr. Ervin's appearance in Québec City this weekend, takes a slightly different attitude. He states, "Contrary to Montréal, we have no organization that works specifically on police brutality. People here are interested in it...but if we want to talk about it, we're going to invite some one from Montréal; somewhere with the same laws."

The Québec City lecture will thus focus less on these topics and more on "building a mass movement. The local group that co-sponsored the event is a community group and we're interested in community organizations in the U.S. The

Université Populaire is a co-sponsor, [too]. Local people are interested...people want to hear about his experiences as a black radical," says Lefebvre.

Although there is this contrast, the organizers in both Québec City and Montréal seem to agree that Ervin can offer insight into social problems. "He will be talking about...what we have to do now to get real social change," says Jarrett. "He wants to show links with struggles happening in Canada and all over the world. He wants to be pull us together. There is often single issue politics, when [we] are isolated we are much more likely to be defeated than if we fight together."

The lecture will occur on Thursday November 5 at 8:30 p.m. at 1455 de Maisonneuve W., Room 937. Entrance will be by donation. The event is being sponsored by Criminal Injustice (of McGill PIRG), Montreal Anarchist Black Cross, Citizens Opposed to Police Brutality (C.O.E.P.) the Anarchism Study Group and McGill's CKUT 90.3.



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Palestinians Lose in Big Picture But Win at Wye

BY JEFF WEBBER

JW: How big is the Wye Plantation deal in terms of its significance in the overall peace process? Is it really offering anything new?

RB: In one sense, no, it's not offering anything new at all. What it is is an agreement to implement things that were previously agreed to, but not implemented. So that, further Israeli redeployment in the West Bank, security cooperation, amendment of the Palestinian National Charter, safe passage between the West Bank and

Gaza, discussions on Gaza's port, opening the Gaza airport. All of those things were things that were agreed to before, in some cases several times before, and in several cases as early as September, 1993. So this is an agreement to implement the agreement. It's not an agreement on doing anything new. Even the opening of final status talks, on ultimately resolving the Palestinian-Israeli conflict which they have agreed to do now, those were technically started in May, 1996. It's just in practice, there have been no negotiations. So in that sense, no, it's nothing new. It may be important in providing a degree of momentum to a peace process that has only been declining since May, 1996. So I suppose if it has an importance it has that kind of importance. If some of the things that are promised occur, they will be useful. But, to be perfectly frank, it is not going to bring about... I think we're unlikely to get successful final status negotiations any time soon. So, we're not standing on the verge of a major breakthrough in the peace process.

JW: O.K., who are the major opponents of the deal on both sides, why are they opposed, and how are they important to the fulfillment of the deal?

RB: You hear the most vociferous opposition right now on the Israeli side from amongst settlers, and other right-wingers, who don't wish to surrender any terri-

tory. So they're unhappy that Netanyahu who was elected opposing Oslo, has agreed to surrender some territory, however limited, in the West Bank to the Palestinian Authority. And they are also unhappy with other parts of the agreement, in which they feel that Netanyahu went to Wye Plantation with a whole series of demands, and then caved in on them.

"But, I'd probably have to score it 7 to 3 Palestinian negotiating victory if you do a clause by clause count."

The Israelis, I think, largely lost on the Palestinian National Charter issue, because they don't get a whole revocation of the Charter, on arms collection, and a whole series of other issues. They didn't get quite the deal that Netanyahu promised he was going to get. So, he's got problems on his right wing.

Arafat has two kinds of problems. He has problems to some extent on the Left, but the Left isn't terribly important anymore, much more so from Hamas and the Islamist movement, who say that this is a bad deal; that it doesn't lead anywhere; that the Israelis are still in control of most of the West Bank at the end of the deal; that he's going to have to agree to cooperate with the Israelis and the CIA; and heralds a big security clamp down; and they have a whole series of reasons why they are opponents of the deal. There's also a second problem for Arafat: just the general malaise, general frustration with the peace process that doesn't appear to be delivering, with economic stagnation and so forth. And that manifested itself, not necessarily in opposition to Wye per se, but in a sense of frustration on the street more broadly.

The big challenge is that both settlers on Netanyahu's Right, and members of the armed wing of Hamas, both have the capacity to engage in acts of violence. We have seen some of that in Hebron in recent days. And acts of violence could potentially derail implemen-

tation of the agreement, particularly since Netanyahu would probably prefer not to implement some parts of the deal. And an upsurge in violence would provide him with an excuse not to do so.

JW: Two related questions with the deal regarding terrorism: a) the deal stipulates that Arafat must clamp down on Palestinian terrorism against the Israelis. What Palestinian organizations will be affected by this clamp down; and b) it was said in the press today that Netanyahu's office announced an indefinite postponement of a cabinet decision on the new peace deal, until Palestinians had produced a plan to fight terrorism. Is this stall a snag in the process as the press suggests, and what influenced Netanyahu's decision to postpone a cabinet decision?

RB: Under the deal the Palestinians are supposed to share with the Americans a comprehensive plan to deal with terrorism. They're not supposed to necessarily share it with the Israelis; and one of the criticisms that Netanyahu faced on the Right, was that the Israelis would have no control over the content of a security deal. It would be an American-Palestinian agreement on approval of a Palestinian plan. And, therefore, I think that the Is-

"And so the Israelis may well get aid which is equivalent to total U.S. support for the peace process on the Palestinian side since 1993. And they'll get it in just one go."

raeli cabinet move reflects both the concern over that, and concern over the killing that just occurred in Hebron. So, yes, they're stalling implementation trying to toughen up the clauses above and beyond what was agreed to at Wye.

With regard to Arafat, it's not clear what he's going to do. He's supposed to move against the in-

frastructure for terrorism; but a number of very recent statements from Palestinian security officials suggest that they don't, for example, see the civilian wing of Hamas as part of the infrastructure for terrorism. The agreement leaves a lot of room for interpretation. And so it's not at all clear that there will be a widespread move against Hamas. I suspect that there wouldn't be, that they will continue doing what they have done, which is by and large target the military apparatus, and occasionally target particularly outspoken components of the political apparatus of Hamas.

On collection of illegal weapons: that's one of the trickiest ones, because that's potentially, as we have already seen in Ramallah, leads to armed confrontations with the security forces; when the security forces try to seize weapons, as they are supposed to have done, not only in this agreement but under prior agreements. And that may turn out to be the biggest sticking point, is what measures are taken to confiscate illegal fire arms. Because the Palestinian Authority will probably not mind confiscat-

ing them, but it brings them potentially into direct confrontation; and it doesn't look good if Palestinian security force personnel kill other Palestinians in the process of seizing their illegal weapons. So that may be, in fact, one of the most controversial aspects of the security component of the deal from the Palestinian side.

JW: Regarding U.S. involvement in the peace process; in the past, American foreign policy in the Middle East has tended to favour the Israeli side. Do you think Clinton has taken a more balanced approach than past presidents, or has U.S. position altered at all?

RB: Well, I think the Clinton administration has been one of the most pro-Israeli on record. We have seen some slight weakening of that, but that doesn't mean that it still isn't there. And certainly there are very strained relations too, between Netanyahu and Clinton, which weren't helped by Netanyahu's attempt to get Jonathan Pollard freed in the course of the Wye Plantation negotiations. So there is a strain, but



PHOTO BY JEFF WEBBER

REX BRYNEN, PhD

no, American foreign policy, and the Congress in particular, does chronically tilt towards Israel. One piece of evidence of that, is that Netanyahu was given encouraging signs that there would be additional aid forthcoming to Israel to finance its costs in further redeployment.

And Netanyahu is talking about maybe half of \$1-billion in additional U.S. assistance to Israel. Well, half of \$1-billion is the total amount of money that's been set aside by the U.S. for the Palestinian Authority over five years, over the entire Oslo process. And so the Israelis may well get aid which is equivalent to total U.S. support for the peace process on the Palestinian side since 1993. And they'll get it in just one go; just for the further redeployment of 13.1 percent. So, I mean, in terms of tilt, that probably is

peans pick up, if you include EU by multilateral money and European bilateral money, about half the cost of the peace process is picked up by the Europeans and maybe 14 percent or so by the Americans. I mean, Europeans are by far the largest donors to the Pal-

"We'll get final status talks, but I don't think they'll come to completion."

estinian Authority, to the West Bank and Gaza. And they get a little annoyed that they have to foot all the bills frankly, and that the Americans get all the diplomatic credit.

JW: This is my last question, which you may have partially responded to already, but basically, who won at the Wye Plantation?

RB: I can answer that in two

Palestinians thought they'd be at this point. I mean Wye Plantations wasn't about any of that. It was about trying to get the Israelis to do the first of the further redeployments, or the first and second technically. It's about starting the final status negotiations. And so one could argue that the Palestinians lost because they're much further away from their goals than they thought they would be; a lot of that had to do with the change of government that occurred in Israel in May of 1996.

Tactically, if you asked me going into the negotiations, given the positions adopted by both sides immediately prior to the negotiations, who got the better job out of the actual



BENJAMIN NETANYAHU

against the broader context of the peace process. And I don't see the peace process heading anywhere in particular at the moment.

JW: I just thought of one more question. What are the chances of these things actually happening?

RB: Tell me if someone gets killed tomorrow. I think half will happen. Don't ask me which half. But I would guess that we'll get... We'll probably get most of, maybe not all of, the further redeployment. I think we'll probably get the meeting on the Charter. We might get the airport, and/or safe passage, but then maybe not. I don't think the

Interview with Rex Brynnen PhD



YASSIR ARAFAT

pretty indicative that the tilt is still there.

JW: So, still on U.S. policy: The Americans are attempting to assume all the credit for this peace deal, but who is actually... who has actually been funding most of the peace process thus far?

RB: The Europeans. The Euro-

ways. In one sense, the Palestinians expected by this point that there would have been three further redeployments from the territories; that they'd probably be in control of 70 percent of the territories; they'd be well on the way, if not completing final status negotiations; and be approaching Palestinian statehood. I mean, that's where a few years ago the

nine days at Wye, I think the Palestinians did better. They don't like the security cooperation clauses, but I don't think they had to agree to anything particularly onerous they hadn't agreed to before. And the role of the CIA, which the Palestinians had initially favoured and the Israelis had initially opposed, may prove useful. Because on a number of occasions in the past, the CIA has reported to the administration that the Palestinians are complying with their commitments. And that the Israelis are exaggerating their concerns. And so, the Palestinians have some hope that the CIA will confirm their view of events. And at Wye, in fact, the Israelis... There had been proposals before Wye, there had been agreement two weeks before Wye on a CIA role; and the Israelis had turned it down. So, that may work to the Palestinians advantage.

On the national covenant thing, on the National Charter thing, yeah Arafat won. He ended up with a really convoluted mechanism for reaffirming the change in the Palestinian National Charter, not what Netanyahu had gone to Wye ask-

ing for. On illegal weapons collections, the Palestinians won. They have to collect weapons, but then they had agreed to do that before. They get to retain the weapons that they collect, they don't have to hand them over to another party.

On the further redeployment, it's probably as much as could be squeezed out of this Israeli government, and so you're faced with the choice of getting something or nothing; and, I think it was probably not a bad something; the Palestinians may have lost on the final further redeployment, in which there is no obligation on the part of the Israelis to make it bigger than one percent; the Israelis have said it will be as small as one percent. But, if I looked at the clauses overall, they got an agreement to open the airport, probably; and they got an agreement to open up the safe passage probably, although there is some legal room for the Israelis in there. The other thing is they got less agreement on the port for example. But, I'd probably have to score it 7 to 3 Palestinian negotiating victory if you do a clause by clause count. But, as I say, you have to set it

Palestinians will do as much as the Israelis will think they will do on security. I think the Israelis will drag their feet a lot. We'll get final status talks, but I don't think they'll come to completion. I actually promised my entire undergraduate class I would take them to dinner if we got a final status agreement before the end of term, so I'm hoping we don't (laughing). No, I really hope we do. So, I don't think we can make agreement on the big issues. And that has to be remembered. This is all interim agreement. This is all temporary arrangements. The bigger issue is what the final status, whether the parties can agree on final status. What is the final resolution of the conflict. We're only starting those talks. They're going to be really difficult, and I don't think they're going to come to agreement before May, 1999, at which point the Palestinians are in the position to declare independence unilaterally. They won't control most of the ground, but at least they'll declare independence unilaterally; because the Oslo clock, the timetable of the peace process, comes to an end then. So, half of it will be in and half of it won't.

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Defending the Independent Bookstore

BY AUTUMN HAAG

In an effort to increase sales and public interest, McGill-Queens University Press is trying out a new image.

McGILL-QUEENS UNIVERSITY PRESS
LAUNCHES NEW AD CAMPAIGN SUPPORTING THE LITTLE GUY

Gone are the stodgy advertisements promoting books only academics read. Now, under the supervision of the Press's sales and advertising manager, Bruce Walsh, slogans like "Books you won't see on Oprah", and "Howard Stern bores us" are being used in their new ad campaign.

The project isn't just about selling more books though. It's also part of a more long-term plan to unite the Press with independent booksellers around the country. In exchange for buying a certain number of the Press's books at a discounted price, a bookstore is able to have its name advertised on the bottom of each ad the Press puts out.

Walsh feels that this campaign is particularly important now, given the rise of the megabookstore in the downtown Montréal area. "Everyone agrees it's important for Canada to maintain strong and healthy independent booksellers," he says. "We need to maintain choice and democracy and provide a diverse range of booksellers." Bookstores like Chapters are based in Toronto, and order their books there, rather than in Montréal, limiting the choices the average consumer has. Granted, when one walks into Chapters, one rarely feels underwhelmed by the selection, but the books they sell there are all fairly standard. While they do sell some academic books, it is not nearly the number sold by independent bookstores. Walsh believes that his new campaign will have "no effect on Chapters", and insists that the purpose of the new campaign is not to hurt the chain.

While Chapters was not available for comment, independent booksellers had nothing but praise for the program. Mary Keating of

the Double Hook bookstore says "the sales rep comes to us and we are very well looked after." However, she said that she has no way of knowing how, or even if, her business has been affected by the ads. A representative of Paragraphe books simply said that the ads can only help to boost sales and help unify independent bookstores.

With the increased competition between booksellers has come increased competition between publishers. MQUP has a \$150,000 trade advertising budget which allows them to advertise not only in small circulation academic journals, but in major publications such as *The Globe and Mail*, and *Quill and Quire* as well. Although a sizable budget, it is nothing compared to the amounts spent by larger publishing houses.

Walsh noticed an increased trend of the "general public interested in reading our books", which are mostly non-fiction. The Press has had a run of hits which it hopes will fuel the trend of popularity in their books. Their only novel, *The Excluded Wife*, by Yuen-Fong Woon, has been a great success, as has *Surpassing Wonder: The Invention of the Bible and the Talmuds*, by Donald Harmon Akenson.

Hopefully the new ads, one of which will appear in Saturday's *Globe and Mail*, will let readers know where they can find a greater selection of their books, and at the same time, help promote the independent Canadian bookstore. The Montréal bookstores that participate in this campaign are Bibliophile, Paragraphe, Bertrand, Double Hook, and ironically enough, the McGill University Bookstore, which is run by Chapters.

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FIN

Study argues post-secondary education pays for itself

BY ALEX BUSTOS

OTTAWA (CUP) - British Columbia university graduates offset the cost of their education subsidies by paying higher taxes, a research institute says.

In fact, some graduates end up paying more than double the cost of their degree, a paper by the non-profit Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives argues.

Conducted by economics professor Robert Allen, of the University of British Columbia, the study - the first of its kind in Canada - found students pay for their diplomas through post-university employment as well as tuition fees.

Using UBC figures, Allen concluded tuition fees for a four-year bachelor's program at the university costs on average of \$11,480.

Relying on government numbers, Allen also points out that university graduates earn substantially more than those without a post-secondary education do.

The result is that B.C. graduates pay more than \$50,000 in net taxes over their working lifetime, Allen argues in the paper released last week.

That tax figure - which includes income tax, Canadian Pension Plan contributions and unemployment insurance

payments - balloons to \$120,000 for men with an engineering degree.

If you add tuition fees and taxes, women pay an average of \$61,066 and men \$74,376.

In contrast, providing four years of undergraduate study to women costs the B.C. government \$28,469 and \$30,099 for men.

In the long run, the study concludes, education pays for itself.

"If what I'm saying is true, then students are already paying their education in full, and to increase fees would be overcharging them and limiting access," Allen said.

"My hunch is that this overall conclusion... also applies to the other provinces," he added.

But Mark Milke, Alberta director of the Canadian Taxpayers Federation, says Allen overlooks the fact that low tuition levels subsidize the rich at the expense of the poor.

"It's an interesting (study), except that it's still absurd to think that a son and daughter of a millionaire should be given the same tuition break as someone who earns \$20,000," Milke said.

Tuition Controversy at Dalhousie

PARTNERSHIP WITH PRIVATE INSTITUTION

RAISES CONCERNS OVER ACCESSIBILITY

by Shelley Robinson

HALIFAX (CUP) - Two new graduate degrees offered at Dalhousie University in conjunction with a private institution have raised concerns that students wishing to enroll in the expensive programs may be unable to do so because they can't afford the tuition.

The Master's of Business Administration in Information Technology and Master's in Information Technology Education are jointly offered with the Halifax-based Information Technology Institute.

Tuition for the two-year MBA is \$38,600 and Dalhousie will receive roughly \$15,000 for each student enrolled in the program. The cost of a normal full-time MBA is about \$4975.

Students in the 12-month Master's in Information Technology Education program will be charged \$28,800 and Dalhousie will receive \$7,200 per student.

Dalhousie turned to a partnership with the for-profit Information Technology Institute because there was high student demand for the programs - but the university couldn't afford to offer them on its own, says Dr. Sam Scully, vice-president academic and research with the university.

Scully says he recognizes the high cost of the programs may be a barrier to some stu-

dents, but argues it's better than nothing.

"The arrangement at least allows us to provide a program of quality to a substantial student audience that we wouldn't otherwise be able to provide," he said. "It does shut some people out, but it does create a program others can take. I'd rather do that than no program at all."

But Kelly Mackenzie, vice-president of student advocacy with the Dalhousie Student Union, says the hefty tuition fees will limit the options of some students.

She also says the partnership with the institute was unnecessary: "(Universities) should be able to offer these programs within the public system."

"If a student doesn't have the money for this program but really wants to take it, how is it accessible to them? It's not," stated Mackenzie.

Gerard McInnis, chief financial officer with the Information Technology Institute and project co-ordinator for both programs, says the partnership is good for both the institute and the university.

"Our way to get our program equivalent to a degree-granting program was through a partnership," he said. "It allows us to differentiate ourselves from what is perceived as a low-end market - the trade school."

As for Dalhousie, the part-

nership means access to thousands of students it wouldn't otherwise be able to attract, he added.

McInnis says the institute is aware the programs are expensive, but given it places about 90 per cent of students in jobs, the money is well worth it.

The institute also has agreements with some banks for student loans, has in-house finance officers and owns a subsidiary which grants loans to students who qualify, he said.

Still, McInnis acknowledges some students will still be out of luck. "We cannot service all customers - in that regard we might be different from (Dalhousie), which has more fallback, (such as) bursaries."

But students in the two master's programs will not be eligible for Dalhousie's grants, scholarships, or bursaries.

The MBA, set to begin in February 1999, will also eventually be offered to students at the institute's other Canadian campuses in Vancouver, Toronto, Moncton and Ottawa.

Information Technology Institute, the first Canadian education company to be publicly traded on the stock market, also has a licensing agreement with the American Inter-Continental University.

Between November 1997 and June 1998 the institute had revenues of \$18.5-million with a net income of \$870,000.

Student calls for release of censored APEC documents

BY ALEX BUSTOS

OTTAWA (CUP) - A University of British Columbia student is asking the Federal Court to quash government attempts to withhold certain documents from the APEC inquiry in Vancouver.

Earlier this month, RCMP and government officials filed five certificates of exemption preventing the release of whole or partial e-mail messages and memos relating to last year's summit of 18 Pacific Rim leaders.

In response, UBC post-graduate student Jonathan Oppenheim - one of the organizers of last year's protest at the Asia Pacific Economic Co-operation summit on the university's grounds - last Friday signed a court application demanding the full release of all the censored material.

"We're going before the Federal Court and asking for a judicial review," Oppenheim said in an interview.

But federal government officials insist the documents in question must be censored for reasons of national security, foreign relations, third-party interests and cabinet

confidence.

"Releasing information of this nature could reasonably be expected to have a chilling effect on the degree to which the representatives of Canada and foreign states may be forthright in their negotiations and relations," wrote John Donaghy, a director in the Department of Foreign Affairs, in an exemption certificate filed Oct. 9.

Full disclosure of the requested files, said Donaghy, would reveal the identity of sources in the Indonesian government, harming relations between the two countries.

Police authorities also joined their government counterparts in calling for the deletion of certain passages from the APEC-related documents.

In an exemption certificate dated Oct. 13, Vancouver RCMP Supt. C.R. Kary said the contested APEC material contains RCMP secrets detailing the police force's surveillance methods and identities of undercover agents.

"The release of information disclosing security arrangements, plans, confidential and secret

(RCMP) methods or techniques of protection would render them ineffective," wrote Kary.

But Jaggi Singh, a former UBC student who was arrested without charge during the APEC protest, says it's absolutely necessary to disclose the kind of information Kary wants to hide.

Prior and during last year's APEC conference, says Singh, members of the student-led group APEC Alert were spied on by the Canadian Security and Intelligence Service.

"I was part of APEC Alert and I know it was never a threat to the life of any Asian leader," said Singh.

"What was CSIS saying about us? What was the nature of their surveillance?" he asked. "(And) why can't we see these documents?"

In order to find out the answers to these questions, Singh argues, Ottawa must release all APEC-related material in its possession.

The Federal Court is expected to rule on Oppenheim's motion in about a month-and-a-half.

Youth hit hard as gap between rich and poor grows, report says

by Jesse Clarke

TORONTO (CUP) - Canadian youth are affected drastically by the growing gap between this country's rich and poor, and rising tuition fees only make the problem worse, a left-wing think tank says.

In a report released last week, the Centre for Social Justice says the gap between the richest and poorest families in Canada is growing at an alarming rate, with workers ages 15 to 24 making an average \$8,199, or 20 per cent, less than they did in 1990.

And changes in education funding are making it harder for youth from low-income families to attend post-secondary institutions, the Toronto-based group says. "Tuition increases are part of the growing gap," said John Anderson, co-chair of the centre.

The 107-page report, funded by the Atkinson Foundation and prepared by labour economist Armine Yalnizyan also points out the growing necessity of a university or college education in today's job market.

"We are a society that super-values the people at the top and treats the rest of the population

as disposable," said Yalnizyan.

The National Anti-Poverty Organization says the information confirms the findings of other preliminary studies conducted by students and anti-poverty groups.

"Corporate profits are going up, and at the same time, layoffs are occurring, and younger workers are the ones getting laid off," said Laurie Rektor, spokeswoman for the Ottawa-based lobby group.

"As well, the labour force is now viewed as temporary, expendable, replaceable, especially young workers," she added.

Rektor says that while Ottawa has implemented some youth-employment programs, they aren't enough to tackle the problem as a whole.

But a spokesman for federal Finance Minister Paul Martin says new initiatives like the Millennium Scholarship Fund and the grant for students with dependants compensate for the \$2.3-billion that's been cut in transfer payments to the provinces since 1994.

"With something this complex, you don't skin the cat just

one way," said spokesman Scott Reid.

The Centre for Social Justice, however, disagrees.

"Working class kids have less chance to get an education in order to get out of the working class," said Anderson, pointing to tuition increases at the University of Toronto as one example.

Last spring the U of T raised tuition for students by an average of 10 per cent for the next two years. Tuition for the medical school increased by 64 per cent.

But the university says its hands are tied since the provincial government cut \$54-million from its operating budget in 1996. To compensate for the fee hikes, it says it's participating in the new Ontario Student Opportunity Trust Fund, a three-way matching program where 30 per cent of all money raised must go towards student funding.

The university's new financial aid package, outlined last winter, pledged that no student admitted to U of T should be barred from completing their education due to fiscal restraints.

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